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SUBJECT Russian Emigrant Organizations

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25X1

1. The fundamental change in the political situation and particularly the continual fear of compulsory repatriation caused almost complete inactivity on the part of the Russian emigrants in Germany and elsewhere during the first two and a half years after the German collapse.
2. A certain change occurred in this respect after the end of 1947, when the fear of repatriation abated and American-Soviet relations began to be strained. Since that time, increasing activity of Russian emigrant organizations has been noticeable, and particularly a revival of the old and a growth of new rivalries between principles, organizations, and personnel. Certain efforts at unification or coordination have not yet had any striking success.
3. The present emigration is essentially different from that of the period after World War I. The so-called "old emigration" (first emigration), numbering about two million persons, was composed for the most part of the remainder of the White Army and belonged by virtue of its social structure chiefly to the upper classes--the officers and the intellectual groups.
4. On the other hand, the "new emigration" (second emigration), consisting of persons who left the territory of the USSR between the outbreak of World War II and the German collapse, is numerically stronger but also considerably less unified because it is composed of persons of all social strata.
5. Those persons who left the USSR after World War II are referred to herein as the third emigration. The main difference between this group and the second emigration is that in the third emigration military personnel and officials from Soviet-occupied territory are in the majority. These emigrants hold themselves aloof to a certain extent from the displaced persons and the latter's attitudes. Their strength lies in the fact that they have not been displaced by anyone but have broken with the Soviet regime on their own initiative. The total number of emigrants at present is probably between three and four million.
6. The old emigration had a well-functioning organization. The new one first had to form such an organization and, in doing so, it was proved that the new emigration had even less capable and recognized leaders than its predecessor. Then, too, the old emigrants held themselves aloof for a long time from the new ones.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 2 -

whom they suspected and who were not equal in rank; for the old ones felt that they alone were the tried and true anti-Communists, forgetting how far removed from present-day Soviet reality they had become in 30 years. The mutual struggle over the Vlassov movement eliminated the aloofness only temporarily.

7. In the following paragraphs, only those organizations of the old emigration which still exist today will be discussed, with special consideration to the emigration in Germany.

A. ORGANIZATION OF THE OLD EMIGRATIONROVS (Russki Obshchi Voinski Soyuz - General Russian Military Union)

8. ROVS was the first group organization of Russian emigrants. After giving up the battle against the Bolsheviks in 1921, the remainder of the White Army was evacuated first from the Crimea to Gallipoli and Lemnos, later to Bulgaria (1st Corps and the Cossack Corps) and to Yugoslavia (Cavalry Corps). From the already extant military organizations such as the Organization of General Staff Officers (Obshchestvo Offitserov Generalnogo Shtaba), the Order of the Knights of St. George (Soyuz Georgiyevskikh Kavalerov), and the Organization of the Gallipolites (Obshchestvo Gallipolitsev), the latter a camouflaged military organization, General Wrangel founded ROVS in Belgrade in 1924. The purpose of establishing this purely military organization was the maintenance and strengthening of the military cadre of the remaining White Army for the purpose of continuing the war against the Bolsheviks.
9. The first chairman of ROVS was General Wrangel, who was directly subordinate to the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich (uncle of the Tsar). After Wrangel's death, General Aleksandr Pavlovich Kutepov took over the chairmanship. He was later abducted in Paris by Bolshevik agents. After that, the chairman was General Ievgeni Karlovich Miller, who was betrayed to the Soviets by General Nikolai Vladimirovich Skoblin and his wife, the singer Nadezhda Plevizkaya, and was likewise abducted to the Soviet Union. General Aleksei Petrovich Arkhangelski, who resides in Brussels, became the next chairman and continues to occupy the post.
10. Divisions of the ROVS exist or existed in the following countries:
- Division I in France
 - " II in Germany
 - " III in Bulgaria and Turkey
 - " IV in Yugoslavia and Greece
 - " V in Belgium
 - " VI in USA
- Branches exist or existed in the following countries:
- Poland
 - Rumania
 - Finland
 - Baltic States
 - China
 - Australia
11. Representative of Chairman General Arkhangelski was General Barbovich, head of Division IV in Yugoslavia. After his death in 1947 in the Schleissheim DP Camp, Munich, General Aleksei Aleksandrovich von Lampe took over his post of representative. Von Lampe was head of Division II until World War II. After the capitulation, von Lampe made his home in Lindau/Bodensee but in early 1948 he moved to Paris, where he is still living. He is simultaneously managing Division I in France, which was formerly handled by General Shtilov. Head of ROVS in the U.S. Zone of Germany until the summer of 1948 was Colonel Solomon David Gegelashvili, who emigrated to Argentina. As successor, General Vladislav Grigoriyevich Harshevski and General Popov were considered; but, since each was on the point of leaving the country, each declined the post. Chairman of ROVS in the U. S. Zone of Germany is, for the present, Col. B. M. Jordan, emigrant from Yugoslavia and former officer of the Russian General Staff, who is currently in the Schleissheim DP Camp and is considered completely trustworthy politically.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

12. The following defines the membership requirements of Division II in Germany:

Permanent Basis

*Union of Russian Veterans. Participants in World War I and in the White Civil War on Russian Territory 1914 - 1920 (ROVS)

1. The Union's aim is mutual, moral, and material support; also mutual information and keeping up of former traditions and ideas of the Russian Imperial and the White Russian Armies.
2. The chief of the Union is Lieutenant General A. P. Arkhangelski, residing in Brussels, Belgium.
3. The section in Germany is called "The II Section of ROVS". The Chief of this Section is Colonel E. M. Jordan, who was appointed by Lieutenant General A. Arkhangelski.
4. Officers and soldiers of the above-mentioned armies may be admitted as members of the Union regardless of the time of their arrival in the foreign country, as long as they are hostile to Communism and its chiefs.
5. Those who did not formerly serve in the Imperial and White Armies may be admitted as members of the Union, in special cases, after they have been thoroughly screened.
6. By order of the Chief of the II Section, in places where the Union has a sufficient number of members, groups will be organized and group chiefs appointed.
7. The members of the Union are subject to all regulations and orders of the occupation government of the country in whose territory they are sojourning.

(E. M. Jordan)

1949
Munich-Felmoching

Colonel E. M. Jordan
Chief of the II Section
of ROVS"

13. In the United States, Generals Innadse and Rudberg were installed as heads of the ROVS, but both have died. In their place came General Ionov, who also represents the interests of ROVS in Canada.
14. ROVS is almost the only organization in the "old emigration" which is above party politics. Its structure is simply and clearly military. Even though the majority of its members doubtlessly lean very much toward monarchist views inwardly, the directorate has nevertheless made it a policy not to interfere in any way with internal emigrant party intrigues or to obligate itself in any way. On the other hand, ROVS wittingly operated an information service in the USSR, the leading organ of which was the so-called "Inner Line", founded and managed by Captain Voss. Also, the acts of terrorism in Leningrad and other places in the Soviet Union, execution of which lay in V. A. Lariyov's hands, occurred with the knowledge of ROVS.
15. Even such crises as arose from the abducting of the ROVS directors Generals Kutepov (1929) and Miller (1937) could not destroy ROVS but proved, on the other hand, what significance the Soviets ascribe to this organization. The following event serves as an illustration: About 1928-29 the son of General Fedor F. Abramov, Nikolai Abramov, arrived illegally in Hamburg. He had allegedly escaped from a Soviet ship. When the White Army retreated, General Abramov had left his minor son Nikolai with his grandmother and had received no news of him from Russia. From Hamburg, young Abramov, who meantime had been

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 4 -

apprehended by German police, was transferred to Moabit jail in Berlin. With astonishing rapidity the young boy was able to ascertain the place where his father was staying. The latter had meantime become chief of Division III of ROVS in Bulgaria. Via the German police, the son sent his father news of his imprisonment. Through intervention of his father, young Abramov was transferred to Bulgaria and, likewise on his father's request, was closely watched. Nevertheless, nothing suspicious could be ascertained in his behavior. Not until the following year was Captain Voss successful, with the help of the Bulgarian police, in convicting young Nikolai Abramov as an agent of the Soviet Union. (Voss was one of General Abramov's assistants and founder of the Inner Line.) In his devotion to the Soviet Union, young Abramov went so far as to betray even his father and his activities to the Soviets. Thanks to the position which General Abramov meantime had created for himself in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian police prevented the matter from becoming an official scandal. The son was deported and went to France, whither he was followed by his wife Nina and her mother, Dentist Konshina. His further fate is unknown, but in 1947 unconfirmed rumors had it that he had appeared in Munich-Pasing with the IRO. General Fedor Abramov lived in the Parsch Camp near Salzburg after his flight from Bulgaria but some time ago moved to his brother's in the USA.

16. In World War II, ROVS participated actively in the battle against Bolshevism. The most important unit composed of members of the ROVS was the ROE (Russki Okhranny Korpus - Russian Security Corps) in Yugoslavia. Countless other ROVS members carried on the fight in the ranks of ROA (Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Armiya - Russian Liberation Army of General Vlassov) against the Soviets on the Eastern Front.
17. Since ROVS also concerned itself with the planning and carrying out of reconnaissance and sabotage activities in the Soviet Union before the outbreak of the last war, but because of existing directions of General Wrangel (Order No. 82) was not permitted to be politically active, yet on the other hand was interested in attracting new, younger members, an attempt was made to create youth organizations outside of ROVS, specifically from among the sons of ROVS members. In this manner the present NTS originated.
18. ROVS itself is now, for practical purposes, a traditional organization of the old Russian officer corps. This organization decreases in value from year to year and, as a result of its age, is no longer a political factor and can no longer produce any great results. Nevertheless, it remains without doubt the best manned and most dependable organization among the emigrants. The explanation for this fact is that the "new emigrants" seldom find acceptance in the old organization.
19. ROVS also had various imitators. The Legitimists (see Para. 25) and the Young Russians (see Para. 26) made an attempt to imitate it at the end of the 1920s by founding the Officer's Corps of the Tsarist Army and Navy, but this organization never became a serious competitor of ROVS. Even the present-day Confederation of Andrew's Flag (SAF) has the same idea as its basis. This organization led by Glasenapp, was to be for the former Vlassov officers what ROVS was for the old officers. Recently, an intense activity has been noticeable in ROVS. The organization's duties lie chiefly in using its experience, tradition, and rigid military organization to help the new emigration in educating and choosing a select group of leaders.
20. Two organizations must be considered as belonging to ROVS even though they are outwardly separated from ROVS. One is the Union of Russian War Invalids (First World War) (Soyuz Russkikh Voennoy Invalidov 1-oi Mirovoi Voiny) in Paris. In Munich the Central Administration is composed of Major General Cherepov and Major General Trushev. The other organization is the Kazak Union (Kazachy Soyuz), whose chairman is General Count Grabbe.

SECRET

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

VMS (Vysshi Monarkhicheski Sovet - Supreme Monarchist Council)

21. In spite of the fact that this group is not particularly strong numerically, it merits considerable attention because of its extraordinary activity. VMS considers itself and its ideal the one and only ideological link among the Russian emigrants in the fight to the finish against Bolshevism. In this respect, the lack of an ideological principle in the White Russian movement is pointed out as an explanation of its failure. VMS believes that the complex of fixed ideas of the opponent must be confronted by an equally rigid ideology and, moreover, that the history of Russia has taught that this country needs a leader and that in the long run this could be only a legitimate monarch. One of the weaknesses of VMS lies in the fact that the present pretender to the throne, Crown Prince Vladimir, at first held himself very much aloof, though probably not because VMS did not express itself clearly and unequivocally in favor of legitimist views. A further weakness lies in the lack of strong leaders within the council.
22. Since the very conservative range of ideas of VMS not infrequently seems extremely incomprehensible and outmoded to the younger generation, and since VMS (perhaps not without provocation from Soviet agents) often indulges in tactless invectives against persons with differing opinions, time and again it has proved to be the stumbling block which prevented the rational coordination of the anti-Bolshevik emigration. Since the VMS has recently succeeded in having its people installed in several important positions in general emigration organizations in the western zones of Germany, it strikes a more conciliatory note and even attempts to effect transactions with the Russian Social Democracy, whose main force lies in the United States. Nevertheless, no positive results are evident. The center of gravity of the VMS lies for the time being in the Munich area.

23. Leaders of VMS are as follows:

Chairman: Peter Skarzhinsky, DP camp, Schleissheim

Secretary: Dr. Sergei Yurev, 5 Werneckstrasse, Munich

Executive Committee: M. Dobrovolski, Yuri v. Meyer, A. Myasoyedov (Rome)

The following belong to the District Council in Germany (Okruzhnoi Sovet v Germanii): Yuri v. Meyer, Prince Veistov, Dmitri Grabbe, Prof. Kelai.

24. The organ of VMS is the newspaper Izvestiya Vysshego Monarkhicheskogo Soveta. The publisher is Zlatoust, Munich-Feldmoching, IRO Camp, Barracks 113/17.

Other monarchist papers are:

Vestnik Russkoi Monarkhicheskoi Myali, Regensburg, Profiningerstrasse

34 a. It stands in opposition to P. Skarzhinski.

Russki Grazhdanin, editor Turpe, Arolsen/Waldeck, Kasernenstrasse

19. Organ of the independent monarchists.

Nasha Strana, editors Ivan Solonevich, F. Seuberlich, Post Box 69 (20 a).

Wolfsburg, Kreis Gifhorn. Organ of the Russian monarchists.

Dvuglavy Orel, editors Sergei Novgorodzhnev, Nikolai Chuchnov (the latter has left the country). Published by Zlatoust, Munich-Feldmoching, IRO camp. An organ of free monarchist thought.

Informatsionny Byulleten, Byuro Svyazy Russkogo Monarkhicheskogo Dvizheniya

Other Monarchist Groups

25. A separate monarchist group which does not wish to join VMS is the Legitimists, under the leadership of Sergei Volzekhovskii, Ravensburg. This group, which has its headquarters in Ravensburg, recognizes the right of succession of only Crown

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Prince Vladimir Kirilovich, of the House of Romanov. Voizelkhovski escaped with the Crown Prince, spent the first years after the capitulation with him, and is today his representative in Central Europe.

26. A third monarchist group is the Mladorussy, the Young Russian Party. This group received a fresh impetus about the end of the 1920s, but later allowed itself to be challenged by the Russians in the monarchist-socialist program and could not in the end succeed with its idea of "Tsars of Industry". The Mladorussy stand on a strongly legitimist platform. Their few adherents today are to be found mostly in France, Belgium, and the USA. In Germany the movement was forbidden in 1936 and could no longer exist even today. The founder and leader is Alexander Kasin-Beck, now in the United States. No great significance is attributed to this group now.

NTS (Natsionalno-Trudovoi Soyuz - National Labor Union,
also called Russkiye Solidaristi - Russian Solidarists)

27. NTS originated from NSM (Natsionalny Soyuz Molodezhy - National Youth Union) which was founded in 1924-25 in Pernik near Sofia, Bulgaria. This organization was composed chiefly of younger relatives or sons of the ROVS members. It was at one time supposed to succeed ROVS. For the second time ROVS was forbidden by its founder General Wrangel (Order No. 82) to be politically active in any way. In NSM, however, the youths were to receive a political education for the active battle against Bolshevism. Soon internal difficulties arose (see below), which finally led to secession of one part and to the changing of the name to NSNP (Natsionalny Soyuz Novogo Pokoleniya - National Union of the New Generation) and finally to NTS. The central office of the NSM remained at first in Pernik near Sofia, was transferred later to Russe on the Danube, whence it was ultimately transferred to Belgrade, where until then only a branch office had existed.
28. Of the founders and leading personalities of NTS, the following are noteworthy:
- Baidalakov, Viktor Mikh.: Chairman of NTS. Today in Washington, pins all his hope on America. Is trying to influence government representatives in favor of NTS. Is said to have been received by President Truman in late fall of 1948. Is known as a ruthless power-seeker.
 - Georgiyevski, Mikhail Al.: Professor of archaeology. For some inexplicable reason, he remained with the Russians in Belgrade. In 1946-47 was in close communication with G. S. Okolovich, US Zone of Germany.
 - Boldyrev, K. V.: At present the right hand of Baidalakov in USA. First emigrated to Morocco, then to USA via South America. Less important.
 - Olski, Mikhail Leonid.: Representative of the Western Zones, Germany.
 - Poremski: Representative of the British Zone of Germany, formerly in Frankfurt/Main, presently in Kassel.
 - Rozhdestvenski: Supported Poremski.
 - Vinogradov, Ivan Ivanovich: Representative for Munich. Munich, Herzstr. 2. Brother-in-law of Okolovich.
 - Okolovich, Georgi Serg.: Director of the "Secret Section" of NTS. Editor of the NTS newspaper Pogey (the largest in the Western Zone) in Limburg/Lahn. Lives in Limburg/Lahn, Weilburgerstr. 6.
 - Arbenin, alias Goranin: Emigrated to South America via Morocco. Was suspected of espionage for the Soviet Union during the war.
 - Gumak of Leuchtenberg: Named as one of the founders.
 - Banchevski and Shagan: Said to play no small role in NTS.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

29. As already mentioned, a decree was issued by Gen. Wrangel, founder of ROVS, to refrain from any political activity. On the other hand, ROVS undertook the accomplishment of reconnaissance and sabotage activities in the Soviet Union, which required the political development of the members. To this end, NSM (which was provided for that purpose) tendered its services to General Kutepov, who at this time was attached to the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich and who led the underground battle against the Soviets. General Kutepov referred NSM to Captain Voss, according to whose directions the activity was begun. In order to obtain political control over the NSM, agents of Capt. Voss who were responsible to him were installed in NSM. In this manner, the so-called "Inner Line" came into being, which actually enabled Captain Voss to supervise NSM politically.
30. In time, oppositions developed between the leading personalities of NSM on one side (Georgiyevski, Baidalakov, Rozhdestvenski, and others) and the successor to General Kutepov (General Abramov and his co-worker Voss) on the other. NSM, which sought power in the emigration and wished to free itself from the influence of ROVS at any price, notwithstanding the subsidies received from Generals Kutepov and Miller, began a campaign in the emigration press and in public against the continuance of the "Inner Line".
31. In order not to be occupied completely with the quelling of intrigues and provocations and in order to be able to pursue the goals established, all the collaborators in the "Inner Line" were removed from the ranks of NSM after 1930. (NSM had, in the meantime, been renamed NSNF.) Until the outbreak of World War II, the practical activity of NTS did not exceed the bounds of the usual patriotic Russian emigrant organizations.
32. The national Russian organizations, among them NTS, suffered a shock from the Soviet-German treaty. Only after the beginning of the war between the Germans and the Soviets did the problem become acute as to what position was to be taken in regard to the new development. Since, on the German side, the goals of the eastern policy were rather plainly declared, it was not easy for patriotically minded elements to find a platform without having to make strong compromises with their own consciences.
33. It was the desire of the NTS, on one hand, to unseat the Soviets with the aid of Germany and, on the other hand, to guard the Russian people against biological annihilation if possible. Thus, NTS from the very start was not prepared for a battle to the extreme but attempted to infiltrate its members and hangers-on into various German administrative posts in the eastern territory, with the ultimate aim of taking over the administration if the occasion should arise. They held themselves aloof from the actual fighting troops.
34. The not exactly gentle methods of the Germans in administering the east and likewise the imprudent treatment in many cases of the workers in German territory caused considerable national resentment within the ranks of the NTS. They forgot that in a total war against the Soviets it is quite immaterial who the opponent of the Soviet Union is. Out of pity for the Russian people, which without doubt suffered under the German attack, there developed in part sympathy for the real opponent. Thus it was possible that, particularly in the circles of NTS, elements which worked directly for the Soviets found shelter and unquestioning support. Several persons from NTS circles who were installed in various German posts remained in Berlin after the Soviet entry and did and still do work for the Soviets. In part, they were subordinated to the Ministry of Propaganda, as was Herr Makhonin. One succeeded in getting as far as the rank of an SS Chief Storm Trooper and, in this somewhat unusual way, finally landed with the Soviets. He was the former Imperial Russian Captain Tikhmenev.
35. As previously mentioned, NTS had remained aloof at first from the real fighting. The first Soviet deserters, who fought under German leadership as eastern troops, were so filled with anti-Bolshevik hatred that they were even prepared for the sake of the battle to tolerate certain German injustices in the bargain. They were impervious to the national resentment of NTS. Only after the German Army set up a propaganda unit composed of former war prisoners in Dabendorf near

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 8 -

Berlin did NTS find favorable audience. for the captured Soviet officers in the German camps were subjected to more humiliations than the auxiliary troops. All the well-known persons of the Dabendorf unit, from which the commanding staff of the Vlassov Army later developed, were NTS-infected, such as Generals Truchin, Boyarski Bonichenko, Meandrov, both chiefs of the defense of ROA, Kalugin and Tenserov, and with them the officers under their command. For most of them, this attachment became a destiny. The conduct of NTS awakened the impression among the followers of ROA that good relations in the camps of democracy were assured and that, after ultimate German collapse, the possibility existed of continuing the fight for the liberation of the homeland with new allies. General Vlassov himself was somewhat skeptical of NTS. Through the influence of ROA and through NTS, the new troops were infected with national resentment and the differences and incidents between members of ROA and the Germans increased.

36. Shortly before the German collapse, an open revolt of the First Division of ROA occurred in the vicinity of Prague, which resulted in the capture of the majority of the troops by Soviet troops. The ROA forces under the command of Lt. Col. Tenserov was probably responsible for this affair. It would have been an easy matter for him to find out that the Czech insurrection was a Soviet matter, not a national one. As far as is known, General Vlassov was opposed to the revolt. He had set himself a goal of bringing those under him over to the American side with the fewest possible losses so that, in case of conflict between the groups which had been forced to become allies, he could place his units at the disposal of the democratic block. The division commander, Buryachenko, who had boundless ambition, and the IA of the division, Nikolayev, whose role is still unexplained, carried out the revolt against Vlassov's will. Just what preparatory roles Tenserov and some of his agents (among them Captains Dalski and Khmyrov) played has never been satisfactorily explained. The higher command of the divisions and the troops had to pay for this experiment with their lives. Tenserov and Dalski escaped to the American side; Khmyrov disappeared, but whether or not he deserted to the Soviets could not be ascertained. Tenserov disappeared in the Mönchshof Camp near Kassel, from which point he has been active for NTS under the name of Vetlugin. Later he moved to Limburg. Meantime, in a public address, he declared himself separated from NTS, whose activities he disavowed. These three officers were NTS members.
37. The remnants of ROA, which are to be found in the American Zone, have for the most part dissolved and disappeared from sight as DPs. A number remained in the prisoner-of-war camp in Landau under the command of General Meandrov, who was a confirmed adherent to NTS. As far as any connection with other NTS members was possible, an attempt was made to convince the inmates of the camp that all conceivable steps to rescue them were being taken by the Americans. The people believed this --- and the bitter end of Plattling and Dachau is familiar. Through the incapacity of NTS to save the members of ROA from compulsory repatriation, a decided disappointment in the former circles of ROA became apparent and NTS lost more and more of its membership among former military men. A large part of the responsibility for this situation lay with the Americans, who, having insufficient knowledge of the situation, allowed themselves to be advised at the time by Soviet liaison officers.
38. The apprehension of the NTS heads in 1944 by the Gestapo should also be mentioned. After repeated remonstrances on the part of Vlassov's staff, on which there were many members of NTS, they were freed again at the beginning of 1945. During the period of imprisonment, varied rumors circulated concerning the basis of the arrest, and this incident understandably won sympathy for NTS. At the very least, the reason was of a political nature. As already mentioned, NTS had taken great pains to install its members in the administration of the eastern territories. In doing so, commodities were rather promptly dispatched from the eastern territories to Germany, which lacked these commodities. As a reason for the arrest, then, the large leather shipments from the White Ruthenian Government to Germany came to light. Since there were no political objections to the liberation of the arrested NTS members, the arrested persons were freed to oblige the Vlassov cause and the proceedings were suspended. Some of the freed persons fell as victims of a bomb attack in Flisen shortly before the termination of the war.

SECRET

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 9 -

39. From the defensive point of view, NTS followed the policy of the clenched fist in the pocket during the war. Regardless of the good or bad qualities of Germany as an ally in the battle for the liberation of Russia, every opponent of the Soviet Union, from a purely military point of view, would find himself in the same situation in case of a conflict. Since the Soviets will call up the entire arsenal of patriotic slogans for the strengthening of their defense, all political groups with a morbidly emphasized anti-Soviet national resentment need strict surveillance and command.
40. After the collapse, NTS produced much propaganda about its supposedly very great battle losses against Stalin as well as against Hitler; nevertheless, these assertions seemed greatly exaggerated. Whoever and whatever might in the last analysis be to blame, there is a sharp break noticeable between ROA and the NTS members. Recently, attempts have been made to repair this break, since these two groups could supplement one another very well. Both represent the young generation which is capable of taking over the reins, and in this respect NTS could ideologically and organizationally bridge the gaps among ROA members to best advantage. For this reason, the Soviets probably will leave no stone unturned to prevent an association and agreement between the two organizations.
41. Ideologically, NTS represents a social (not socialistic) republic with strong emphasis on the "elite" idea; an elite which has already been selected and trained will later assume power. Of all the groups and movements, the Solidarists (that is, NTS) have the clearest and best outlined ideology to offer. In spite of many later changes, the influence of Fascism and nationalism is unmistakable, and this influence is continually charged against NTS by its opponents. The bulk of NTS contains many good elements; nevertheless, the command at present cannot be described as being unobjectionable.
42. Although the information service has heretofore seemed weak, the total activity of NTS is considerable. Like VMS, NTS is trying to unite the emigrants under its command. In this endeavor, it can rely chiefly on committees in the British Zone and in the provinces of Gross-Hessen and Württemberg-Baden. The most intense activity in this connection emanates from Hamburg. NTS owns a rather important press and in this respect is far ahead of almost all other organizations. It is obvious of late that the center of gravity lies in the United States, where the command also has its headquarters. The reception of the organization's commander by President Truman gave NTS a stout weapon and an increase in prestige that should not be underestimated, especially since this was the first and only reception of a representative of the emigration.
43. Newspapers and periodicals of NTS are as follows:

Rossey, Marburg a.d. Lahn, Dr. Vissarionov, G. Okolovich

Grani, " " "

Otdykh, " " "

Echo, Regensburg, Pryanichnikov

Puty, Hamburg

Ogni, Salzburg (defunct)

Vekhi, Buenos Aires, E. J. Naumkov

Russki Imperialisticheski Soюз (Russian Imperial Union)

44. Founded by N. Rushki, this organization came into existence as a national youth group about the same time as did the Young Russians and the forerunners of NTS. In this group, too, certain Fascist influences were unmistakable. Especially in Paris and elsewhere in France, this movement developed quite favorably until the beginning of 1930. Then it was overshadowed first by the Young Russians and later by NTS. About the end of 1948, N. Globashev, who called himself chief of the Inner Organization of RIS, suggested the consolidation of monarchist organizations of all types into FOM (Federalistic Organization of the Monarchists).

SECRET

- 10 -

This proposal, the details of which are unknown, shows that RIS can still exist and furthermore, that recently it apparently professes to be in favor of a monarchy, which was by no means the case formerly.

National Revolutionary or Fascist Groups

45. ROND originated in 1935 in Berlin. Last under the leadership of P. M. Bormond-Avalov.
46. Russian Fascists, under A. A. Vonsyazki in Thompson, USA. Vonsyazki was imprisoned a long time.
47. RFP (Russkaya Fashistskaya Partiya - Russian Fascist Party) in Harbin. Latest leader: K. V. Rodzayevski. This group was the only one which actively operated with Japanese aid. It worked not only in Manchuria but above all in Siberia. The whole movement was destroyed after the entry of Soviet troops into Manchuria and the leaders, together with Ataman Semenov, were publicly hanged in Moscow. Only the group in Argentina was left, which, though slightly changed, still publishes its newspaper Vestnik under the editorship of Shapkin in Buenos Aires. It is believed to be the only Fascist paper in the Russian language today.

Liberal Democratic Circles

48. These are the remains of the former Cadet Party (Constitutional Democrats) (liberals of old Russia) who grouped chiefly around the magazine Russki Demokrat (Les Independants), 91 Rue Lecurbe, Paris XV. With Milyukov died the last significant leader of these circles, which today have outlived their prime, possess scarcely any adherents outside of the intellectuals, and cannot expect an increase from the ranks of the youth. The best head is doubtless the very capable editor of the above-named journal, S. Melgunov, who was earlier an adherent of the social revolutionaries. He is an uncompromising opponent of Moscow who also has adherents in the Western Zone of Germany. Another magazine published by Melgunov is Za Svobodu Rossii, Paris XV, Boite Postale (P.O. Box) 3615.
49. The left wing is led by Maklakov, who is today leader of the "Direction Russe" in Paris, a sort of asylum for expatriated Russians. Until World War II he was leader of the so-called "Council of Ambassadors" and of the Russian Central Committee, to which fell tasks similar to those of the present Direction. After having placed himself openly at the services of the Soviets upon the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, Maklakov himself, an old diplomat, today steers a strongly pro-Soviet course, as does also the organ of the left wing, Russkiye Novosti, Paris.

Russkoye Narodnoye Dvizheniye (Russian People's Movement)

50. "Initiative Group America-Europe" is the name of a movement which was called into being in May 1943 in New York and a month later in Germany. Its aims and the men behind the scenes are not clearly known nor has much been heard about it. Its program is aimed at the founding of a Russian federalistic democratic republic with the slogans "equal rights to all nations" and "respect for private property". As a further goal, the joining of the United States of Europe is set forth and the final goal is achievement of world government. Its organ Svoboda, Munich, Blutenburgstrasse 39, licensed in the name of Vsevolod I. Skorodumov, Landshut D. P. Camp, was subsidized from the USA but only a few issues of this paper appeared. No significance at all is to be ascribed to this group; it has practically ceased to exist.

Socialist Parties and Groups

51. Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Russkaya Sotsial-Demokraticheskaya Rabochaya Partiya). Not much is left of this first Marxist and once powerful party from which the Bolshevik Party issued, only a few overaged, doctrinaire and generally narrow-minded leaders whose strength lies only in their connections with the former Second International for the other socialist parties. It is today neither a real workers' party nor a mass movement. Its center is in New York, where its organ Sotsialisticheski Vestnik, 7 E. 15th St., Room 401, also appears. This paper is always well informed on the inner events of the USSR. Its critical attitude concerning the party

into a severe crisis, which in turn even led to a split. It was for this reason also that Boris Nikolayevski and D. Dalin, authors of the book on forced labor in the USSR, left the Social-Democratic Party.

52. RND (Russkoye Narodnoye Dvizheniye - Russian People's Movement) is an organization of once (in old Russia) very active social-revolutionaries in France. It is not a mass movement. The president is the author Roman Goul and its organ is Narodnaya Pravda (La verité du peuple) in Paris.
53. SR (Sotsial Revolyutsionery - Social Revolutionaries). This feared and very active Marxist-terrorist organization no longer exists. At present it represents only the remnants of a leadership which has passed its prime, without substance and without new adherents from the ranks of youth. The leadership today consists of the former premier of the Russian Provisional Government, A. F. Kerenski, and the former Minister of Agriculture and President of the former National Assembly, Viktor Chernov. Both live in the USA, where the party organ Za Svobodu appears. Recently, the long-forgotten Kerenski has again been mentioned quite often in connection with the formation of the League for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.
54. Liga Osvobodivshaya Narodov Rossii (League for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia). In this organization is seen a potential beginning or nucleus of a future Russian government-in-exile. Kerenski's only strength lies in the legality of his claim to power, inasmuch as he was the head of the last Russian Government before the Bolsheviks. Above all, the League, founded at the end of 1948, serves as a head organization of leftist forces on a democratic basis. New emigrants also belong to it, although the young blood is still extremely weak. The League refuses to join in a common fight for the liberation of Russia not only with the Monarchists but also with NTS. The movement has a strong literary character. Leading figures are: Kerenski, Chernov, Nikolayevski, Dalin, Sensinov, Karpovich, Abramovich, and Pirogov (the flier who fled the Soviet Union in 1948).
55. Krestyanski Sovuz (Peasants' League). This organization, which no longer exists, arose in the twenties and was always numerically weak, although excellently organized. Headquarters was at Prague and the leader was Maslov. The organ of the Peasants' League, Znamya Rossii, always had some of the best sources of information from the USSR, above all, very reliable. The Peasants' League was one of the first groups to spread the idea of a "Green International" for which representatives of the Balkan exiles in the USA strive today. In ideology and types of adherents, the Peasants' League was closely related to the social-revolutionaries.

B. ORGANIZATIONS OF THE NEW EMIGRATION

ROA (Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Armiya - Russian Liberation Army, also called the Vlassov Army)

ROD (Russkoye Osvoboditelnoye Dvizheniye - Russian Liberation Movement)

Narodov

56. From 1944, these two organizations were headed by KONR (Komitet Osvobodivshaya Rossii - Liberation Committee of the Peoples of Russia), under the leadership of General Andrei A. Vlassov. ROA consists chiefly of former members of the Red Army who, either as prisoners or deserters, came into the hands of the Germans. Old emigrants also fought in ROA; this was one of the rare cases in which old and new emigrants stood shoulder to shoulder without too much friction, although united only in destroying the Soviets. Concerning what was to be done after the Soviets had been defeated, the opinions were widely divergent. It was not surprising, therefore, that after the German collapse the old heterogeneity, increased by the growth of several new groups, again appeared. Nevertheless, the era of ROA continues - an era of the common fight against Bolshevism, of the growth of the power of the emigration through unity in battle.

East Workers

57. Originally this was the largest group of new emigrants. However, the larger part of the membership has been repatriated. On the average, the remainder is not especially friendly to the Soviets, but also not particularly interested politically. Parts belong to ROD (or KONR) circles but are without their own leadership and uniform political orientation.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 12 -

Groups around General Glasenapp

58. General Peter von Glasenapp belongs at the moment to the most frequently mentioned but also the most opposed faction of the emigration. He claims to be the successor of Vlassov, but the majority of the emigrants deny him the right and ability to assume this role. Even as an old emigrant, Glasenapp played no significant role during the "White Movement" and sought mostly to go his own unclear way. Until World War II, he lived in Danzig, where he worked for the German Atwehr, among others. He was expelled from RCVS because of irregularities in financial matters. He is considered very ambitious but also unscrupulous.
59. At the end of 1948, Glasenapp took over the remainder of Russian government property and unclaimed private property, probably with the approval of the US Military Government. This property has now been handed over to the Central Committee of Russian Emigration. Glasenapp was reproached by the emigrants, especially the ROA people, for having accepted German citizenship during the war. By this measure he had probably best cared for his own existence and welfare but had not actively participated in the liberation movement. In addition, he had not done the least thing for the relief of the Russian war prisoners or workers.
- SAF (Sovuz Andreyevskogo Flaga - Union of St. Andrew's Flag), Munich, 30 Piezenerstrasse.
60. This organization was founded in April 1948 in Munich by former members of ROA and other military units of the new and old emigration. At the head are men who ideologically are preponderantly of the old emigration; therefore, considerable monarchist influence is apparent. The bulk of the membership comes from the ranks of the new emigrants, however. The total membership may amount to about 4,000 but no accurate estimate can be made because of constant changes.
61. The aim of this organization is the gathering and unifying of all former military, anti-Communist forces for the furthering of the fight against the Soviets. In this regard, the 14 points of the Prague Manifesto (Vlassov) especially are kept in mind:
- a. Liberation of the homeland from the Bolsheviks as the chief task of the movement.
 - b. Concessions to all the peoples of Russia; equal rights and the right of self-determination in national development.
 - c. Liquidation of collective farming; complete freedom of the farmers in farm management.
 - d. Liquidation of forced labor and guarantee to the laborers of social justice, freedom to choose their work.
 - e. The question of the future structure of the state not to be declared by the emigrants but to be determined by the free will of the people after liberation of the homeland.
62. Outwardly, the organization is not run along military lines, but permanent contact with widely scattered individuals exists through the so-called neighborhood system. SAF is divided into provinces, departments, districts, and cells. The heads, i.e., the province or department leaders, meet Tuesdays and Fridays in the staff headquarters, where discussions are held and instructions received.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 13 -

69. The following are the leading figures of SAF:

Glazenapp, P. H.: President of SAF. Former general (description on page 12). Considered politically reliable when under strict control.

Kononov, Ivan N.: Deputy of Glazenapp. Former major in the Red Army. Advanced to major general under Vlassov. A good soldierly daredevil, politically reliable since he has no chance to return to the USSR. Fallen somewhat into ill repute through extended drinking bouts and brawls. Those around him advise some caution. He has recently withdrawn from his post.

Zakharov, Igor Konstantinovich: Glazenapp's adjutant. Former officer of the Red Army. Under Vlassov, a regimental commander who proved himself well. Militarily very good; intelligence-wise a blank. Has no human understanding. Recently in financial difficulties. Goes around with objectionable persons. His former friend Litvinova has remained in Berlin as an agent of the MVD. She visited him some time ago in Munich. Through his heedless trust of everyone, he can be involved in serious situations. Caution should be used in dealing with him.

Kiselev, Nikolai Vladislav, alias Kukushkin: Staff chief. Former colonel in ROA. Enjoys a good reputation and has good personal attributes. Absolutely reliable politically.

Spiridonov, Aleksei Ivan: Until his death, chief of the department of education in SAF. Former engineering colonel in the Red Army, later in ROA. Published a Russian paper in Regensburg in 1948; disassociated himself from his colleagues and attempted the same thing in Freising. Because of his overbearing behavior his enemies labeled him politically unreliable. The fact is that he carried on suspicious deals and was impenetrable. If he was a Soviet agent, he was one of the most dangerous. His death on 11 May 1949 has not yet been clarified.

Senonov, Mikhail Aleksandrovich: President of the regimental association, "Varyag", whose commander he was in the last war. An old emigrant, imperial guard officer. Convinced anti-Communist and opponent of the Soviet regime. Absolutely unobjectionable regarding either character or politics.

Buryantsov, Mikhail Vasilevich, alias Yegorov: Former colonel of the Red Army. Is considered the real creator of SAF. Intelligent and energetic. Was distrusted by the Wehrmacht. There are still doubts about him.

Kalugin, Mikhail Aleksei, alias Solomin: Former lieutenant colonel in the Red Army; is said to have belonged to the NKVD during the war. When drunk, he relates his personal executions of colonels and generals who attempted to desert to the Germans when he was still with the Soviets. A personal friend of Marshal Bulganin (Politburo). His present girl friend Solomin (whose name he uses) is a former Soviet agent who was dropped behind the German lines by parachute with radio equipment. Kalugin was held under observation by the Germans. Probably the most interesting but at the same time also the most dangerous figure.

Serbin: Occupies the post of a secretary. Is politically reliable.

Koida-Makarov, Senen Tref.: Former colonel of the Red Army. Associates with unreliable persons but seems personally reliable. No guarantee regarding him can be given.

SECRET

- 14 -

Subakin, Aleksei: Camp leader of the DP camp at Schleisheim: former Red Army colonel. [redacted]

25X1

Golubintsev, A. V.: Former Imperial general. An old fighter in the civil war against the Bolsheviks in 1919 to 1921. A monarchist. Because of advanced age, takes no active part in SAF.

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Getmanov (Hetmanov): Former Imperial Cossack general. Took part in the civil war against the Reds. A monarchist. Inactive in SAF.

Wolff von Ludinghaus, Boris Aleksandrovich: President of SAF in the British Zone of Germany, seat in Hamburg. Of the Baltic nobility, admits Russian origin. Is reliable and an active opponent of the Soviets. [redacted]

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Golovin, Vladimir Aleksandrovich: President of SAF for the British Zone except for Hamburg. Politically reliable.

Polatski, Yevgeni Nikolayevich: President of SAF in the French Zone, at Siegmaringen. At the same time, contact man for the intelligence organization. Politically reliable.

64. The SAF organ, Nashe Vremya, was succeeded by the monarchistically inclined Na Perelome (publisher Nikolai Chukhnov). After the emigration of Chukhnov, it was discontinued. The present SAF organ, called Goloi Rossi, is edited by Tenserov, alias Vetlugin, alias Pusanov. Tenserov, a new emigrant, was formerly a lieutenant colonel and chief of the defense staff of ROA. He is a teacher of mathematics, highly intelligent and ambitious, who worked at journalism and propaganda not only with SAF but also in the Central Agency of Russian Emigrants in Bavaria. The old emigrants do not trust him implicitly.
65. In addition, the so-called Institute for the Study of War Experiences 1941-1945, which was established in 1948 and is directed by Vetlugin and General Getmanov, exists in SAF. According to several initiates, this institute is concerned more with personal trivialities than with serious business and lacks any real significance.
66. For the purpose of preventing Communist infiltration of SAF, a well-functioning counterintelligence apparatus has been established. However, since it is in the hands of a man like Kalugin, whose role is not yet entirely clear, such an apparatus could, under certain circumstances, have tragic results.
67. In the election of delegates on 1 May 1949, on the occasion of the second conference of the representatives of the Russian emigration in the US Zone of Germany, the List No. 1 (candidates of SAF and of ROMDD, an ideological group of SAF, with the monarchist Dr. Sergei Yurev as head candidate) registered a decisive victory. With an absolute majority resulting from the election, SAF is the strongest Russian emigrant organization today. However, in recent weeks a set-back in the activity of the SAF has been noticed. Glasenapp has put off his people for quite a long time with promises (which he allegedly obtained from responsible US officials) of forming a Russian volunteer troop. A few weeks ago Glasenapp declared officially that this plan could not be realized for reasons independent of him and that he wished to withdraw. The mass of the membership, considering itself deceived and its hopes shattered, sees no future for itself in Germany and is trying to depart as quickly as possible. This attitude may not only affect the activity of SAF but may even lead to a complete change in the organization.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 15 -

VAZO (Vseskazache Antikommunisticheskoto Zerubeshcheye Obiedineniye -- All-Cossack Anti-Communist Emigrant Alliance)

68. This organization is built on the same principles as SAT, except that it is directed toward Cossack interests. Its primary aim is to gather together all Cossacks for further struggle against Bolshevism. The 14 points of the Prague Manifesto (Vlassov) constitute its basis. VAZO was founded 12 June 1948 in Munich, probably on the personal initiative of several Cossacks of the SAT organization, but this organization has no significance. Among the leading figures of VAZO are:

Kononov, Ivan N.: Recently withdrew from the presidency. See para. 63.

Podolyan, Nikolai I.: Chief of Staff, an impenetrable person. A new emigrant, generally not considered reliable.

Golubintsev, A. V.: See Para. 63.

Getmanov (Hetmanov): See Para. 63.

Dukhometnikov: An old emigrant, reliable.

RONDD (Russkoye Obshche Narodnoye Derzhavnoye Dvizheniye -- All-Russian National Sovereign Movement)

69. The name was selected with reference to the former ROND, whose ideologist, Aleksandr Melski (Baron Meller-Sakonski), at present abroad, is said to have acted as godfather for this organization. An attempt seems to have been made to provide a political counterpart to the more martial SAT which, working illegally, would encompass the national-revolutionary elements under Glasenapp. The president is Yevgeny Arzyuk (alias Derzhavin), 29 Pienzenauerstrasse, Munich, former representative of the Russian intelligence office, later representative of Vlassov in Vienna. He was earlier president of the Russian Students' Union and is closely allied to the monarchists. He is a meaningless person. His collaborators are: Lev Andreyev, 1 Montgelessstrasse, Munich; Nikolai Koltypin, 16 Dietlindenstrasse, Munich; Viktor Fulkh, photographer, new emigrant. His deputy is Sergei Ivanovski, 15/II Georgenstrasse, Munich, who is the representative for Western Germany of the "Patriotic Foundation of RONDD". With few exceptions, the RONDD staff is composed of persons of poor reputation, including the president.

Union of the Former Politically Persecuted of the USSR.

70. This is an officially authorized organization in which a Dr. Kosarev plays the chief role. Kosarev's real name is Krainov and he is not, as he pretends to be, a medical doctor. During the German occupation of Minsk, he worked simultaneously for both the German SD and the Soviet partisans. He is considered a brutal man of little intelligence, who is said to be in charge of a forgery center. He worked for Glasenapp until a few months ago. In addition, there is active in the union one Boris Naumov, a new emigrant who is described as reliable.

Union of Former Nazi Concentration Camp Inmates

71. This organization is located at 3 Scheinerstrasse, Munich-Bogenhausen. One of the leading figures is Aleksandr Davidov. It is not known whether or not this union is to be brought into alliance with the one named in Para. 70. No further details are known.
72. As far as intelligence work is concerned, Nikolai Baranovski, Munich, is considered to be the great rival of Glasenapp. Baranovski is significantly more intelligent and in addition is a good intelligence expert. Politically Baranovski is a monarchist and reliably anti-Soviet; on the other hand he is said not to be so unequivocal personally. The competition between the two camps will probably continue to be serious, with each side using every means at its disposal. As a result of Glasenapp's withdrawal, Baranovski now feels himself master of the situation.

SECRET

ATsODNR (Antikommunisticheski Tsentr Osvozhdeniya Narodov Rossii - Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia)

73. ATsODNR is a large political head organization, which not long ago sought to include various groups. Meanwhile, rather large disjunctions have taken place. ATsODNR originally arose as a union of the remnants of KONR and of the "Provisional Political and Administrative Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia". Recently, Glasenapp's people are gradually being forced out of the various posts and his groups are completely leaving the ATsODNR (11 July 1948). Glasenapp's followers are viewed as being too much the vassals of the Americans and are considered insupportable with regard to the inevitable propaganda in the Soviet area.
74. ATsODNR is not simply an organization of new emigrants; although founded as the heir to the Vlassov movement, it also embraces monarchist and NIS influences. As a consequence, it seeks all possible agreements with representatives of nationality groups which also have as their goal the common anti-Bolshevik fight. The aims of this organization were taken over from ROD along with the 14 points of the Vlassov Manifesto.
75. The new ATsODNR presidium is composed of:
- Pismenny, Yuri, alias Musichanko, a new emigrant (KONR).
 - V. Meyer, Yuri, an old emigrant from Paris and a monarchist.
 - Alden, Andrei, alias Nyryanin, a new emigrant, leader of SVOD.
 - Grichko, Vsevolod, ROA and NIS, a new emigrant.
 - Melnikov, Nikolai, alias Bolenav Dykhovski, alias Kasimir Chakovich, former NKVD, now a monarchist, politically unreliable.
 - Pryanichnikov, Boris, an old emigrant, NIS, editor of Echo.
76. To the executive council belong V. Meyer and Pozdnyakov. Subdivisions of the executive council are:
- Ideological: Nyryanin, Yakovlev, Pismenny
 - Organization: Dykov-Dyashkov, Grichko, Antonov, Prof. Dolin-Karbinski
 - Propaganda in the USSR: Salevski, Vasilevski, Krylov, Legostayev, Yakovlev
 - Propaganda in the West: Melnikov, Michailovski, Chernovski, Dvlin, Prof. Odinzov
 - Finance: Golovin
 - Evacuation: Dykov, Nyryanin.

The two supporting organizations of ATsODNR are now SBONR and SVAD.

SBONR (Soyuz Borby za Osvozhdeniye Narodov Rossii - Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia)

77. This union was founded by General Vlassov as the BSNR (Boyevoi Soyuz Molodozhi Narodov Rossii - Fighting Alliance of the Youth of the Peoples of Russia). In the fall of 1947, this youth alliance again became active under the leadership of the former ROA lieutenant Yuri Dykov-Dyashkov and extended its compass by changing its name. The union is composed for the most part of younger ROA officers and youths and is developing extensive activity. Outside the Western Zones of Germany, in which the center of gravity lies, branches exist in the USA, Belgium, England, Morocco, Venezuela, and Argentina. The organ of SBONR is the periodical Borba, which appears in Munich.

78. To the executive committee belong:

Yakovlev, Boris, alias Nareikis, current president, politically reliable, strongly hated by SAF.

Dykov, Yuri, alias Dyachkov, deputy to the president, described as impenetrable intriguer.

Krylov, Konstantin, directs the press and propaganda, politically reliable, educated and credulous.

Legostayev, Filipp, directs defense, reliable but also hated.

Korneyenko, no particulars known.

79. SBONR's work is directed chiefly toward the Eastern Zone and is aimed at achieving the disintegration of the Soviet Army. As a result of its good and active membership, SBONR is today an important group of emigrants. It knows the thoughts and emotions of the Russian people and of the Soviet Army and consequently can easily find their ears. What SBONR lacks in organization and leadership could be compensated for by an amalgamation with ROVS or NTS. It is ideologically rather closely related to the right wing of SPD (Socialist Party of Germany) and is by no means Marxist. The greatest obstacle in the path of SBONR is the stamp of "collaboration" which is constantly applied to all former Vlassov followers. This hampers public or private appearances and the activation of SBONR abroad, particularly in the USA. Consequently, the activity is confined almost entirely to Germany.

SVOD (Soyuz Voinov Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniya -
Union of Fighters for the Liberation Movement)

80. SVOD was formed on 14 November 1948 as a counterpart to SAF; it is the military complement of the primarily political SBONR. Its sole aim is to encompass all ex-soldiers as a core for a future liberation army.

81. President of the SVOD is Mikhail Aldan, alias Myryanin, formerly a Red Army and ROA colonel, 5/III Enzenspergerstrasse, Munich. The highest organ of SVOD is the so-called War Council, which consists of 15 men, including:

Legostayev, Filipp, chief of staff.
Pozdnyakov, Vladimir
Goncharov
Antonov, Georgi
Prince Yevistov
Pismenny, alias Musichenko
Borodin, former general.

82. The staff of the SVOD consists of the following departments:

Operations Department
Education "
Inspection "
Cadre "
Press and Propaganda Department
Secret Department

83. The proposed organization of personnel is as follows:

10 to 12 men to form 1 squad
3 squads to form 1 platoon
3 to 4 platoons to form 1 company
3 to 4 companies to form 1 battalion

The size of the membership of SVOD cannot be determined exactly, but it is probably between 300 and 400 in the Munich area. Operational funds are raised by donations, dues, and other means. An initiation fee of DM 1. is imposed; dues are assessed according to the size of a member's monthly income, as follows:

- 12 -

Income up to DM 200 - 1 %

Income up to DM 500 - 2 %

Income up to DM 1,000 - 3 %

Income over DM 1,000 - 5 %

After an appropriate period of probation, a newly admitted member is obliged to make a solemn promise to cooperate in the work.

34. The main object of the organization is declared to be the following: A lasting and all-encompassing fight for the suppression of anti-social, national, and Socialist-Communist systems in the fatherland and for the reestablishment of justice on the basis of the fourteen points of the Prague Manifesto and of the Declaration of the ATsODNR.

- a. SVOD heads the fight against Communism as a world evil in all its aspects.
- b. Educational and organizational work is done among the members with a view to re-creating ROA.
- c. SVOD is in contact with all anti-Communist organizations for the purpose of coordinating their activities. Should it be necessary, this organization must help by means of military organizational work.
- d. SVOD takes special measures made necessary by the specific positions, in regard to emigration, of members of the organization and their families.
- e. Every possible kind of help is afforded to the members of the organization and to their families.

35. Although the SVOD organization has some excellent collaborators at present, there exist some controversial figures, among whom is the chairman Aidan, alias Myryanin, whose reputation is not the best. In decisive questions, the existing rivalry between the SAF and the SVOD, a rivalry which goes to the point of mutual accusations of conniving with the Russians, must be taken into consideration. About 90 per cent of the members of the SVOD belong to the new emigration; most of the others, forming part of the old emigration, are monarchists and members of NTS.

Miscellaneous Groups

36. Political Refugees: These form the smallest but perhaps the most valuable part of the new emigration. They have gone abroad with full knowledge of the consequences of their turning away from the Soviet system. Many of them belong to the so-called "Inner Emigration", i.e., they are persons who long ago rejected Bolshevism but had not yet had the opportunity to leave the Soviet Union. They are in the category of the most irreconcilable. These political refugees have no organization of their own, but are active in those groups which offer them most. They were preceded by the former "Nevostreshchentsy" (Non-returnees), i.e., those who refused to return to the USSR, most of whom were diplomatic officials or persons who were connected with some commercial mission. (One is reminded here of Besedovski, former counselor of the embassy in Paris; Aleksander Barmin, commercial representative in Athens who married a niece of F. D. Roosevelt and lives in the USA; and also Kravchenko, Kosenkina, and Tokayev.) This stream of defection has not ceased to this day. The term "third emigration" is used to designate those who fled after the collapse of Germany and who continue to flee at this date. It has been suggested in Paris that a "Society of the Third Emigration" be formed. This idea was originated by Vladimir Ruzhinski, who thought of founding such a society on legitimate monarchist grounds.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 19 -

87. Kazachi Soyuz (Cossack Union): This organization, headed by Ataman Naumenko, espouses the cause of a Greater Russia. It is of no great significance at present, although the Ataman has about 15,000 Cossacks behind him. Mention should be made of the Glaskov Union, which is opposed to the Cossack Union but has no particular significance since it does not have over 200 to 300 supporters.
88. ROSS (Russki Obshche Natsionalny Soyuz Svobody - Russian National Union for Freedom) does not actually exist. This "organization" appears to publish in Basel a news sheet which is distributed in Munich, but allegedly this sheet is published not in Basel but in Munich by an insignificant group of emigrants.
89. Soyuz Sovetskikh Grazhdanin (Union of Soviet Citizens) is a pro-Soviet organization with headquarters in Paris. This organization's illegal representative in the Western Zone of Germany, named Muratov, lives in Stuttgart.
90. Soyuz Sovetskikh Patriotov (Union of Soviet Patriots) is another pro-Soviet organization with headquarters in Paris. It is headed by Prof. D. Odinets, S. Paleologue, and Kachva. There is a branch of this organization in Brussels, headed by H. Svidin, and also one in Buenos Aires, headed by T. Lashtyuk. The publication of its newspaper, Sovetski Patriot, has been discontinued for the present.

C. NON-POLITICAL EMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS

91. Council of the Central Committee for the Representation of Russian Emigration in the American Zone of Germany (Tsentralnoye Predstavitelstvo Russkoi Emigratsii v Amerikanskoi Zone Germanii), with headquarters at Georgenstrasse 15/KK, Munich.

President: Dr. Sergei Yurev

First Chairman: N. Vetlugin, alias Tensarov, alias Pusanov

Second Chairman: Yu. v. Meyer, alias Pravzov

General Secretary: Anatoly Ivanovich Mikhailovski

Administration: Finance Section: Yuri v. Meyer (Monarchist)
Cultural Section: Yakob Budanov (ITS)
Administrative Section: Yevgeni Arzyuk (RONDD)
Legal Section: Dr. Mikhail A. Senenov (SAF)
Social Section: Pavel Filipov (Democrat)

Members of the Administration: Galdanov-Balinov, Fabrizious,
Arzyuk-Derzhavin

Members of the Council: Krylova, Father Vasili Solotovets, Dr.
A. S. Vissavionov (Hesse), Galdanov, Boris
Gergeyevski, Tukholnikov, Salanov, Count Grabbe,
Prof. Gurov, Georgi Ignan.

Head of the Committee for Refugees: Mikhail Shokalski.

At present, representatives in the British Zone, in Hesse, and in Württemberg-Baden have initiated negotiations for placing themselves under the Central Committee in Munich. This unification is on the verge of becoming an accomplished fact.

92. Society of Russian Emigrants in Bavaria (Soyuz Russkikh Emigrantov v Baverii), with headquarters at Jensenstr. 2, Munich. President is Nikolai Zurikov, an early emigrant, lawyer and journalist, a man with very positive social and political opinions. He remains aloof from any party connection. Working with Zurikov is Dmitri Levitski, who resides at Koderbachstr. 39, Munich. An early emigrant who was formerly in Riga, Levitski was later Kanzleichef of KOMR under Vlassov. He is closely connected with Kronyadl and has very positive social and political opinions. This organization is closely connected with the ROVS, and neither the VTS nor the ITS forms a majority among its members.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 20 -

93. Committee of Russian Emigrants in Greater Hesse, with headquarters in Frankfurt/Main, Fechenheim, Am Ritschlehen 19.

President: Dr. A. S. Vissarionov, editor of the NTS organ Posey, Linburg, Lahn; an early emigrant with undefined political convictions.

Vice Presidents: I. P. Nefodov and S. V. Tribuch

Secretary: I. V. Obukhovich

Treasurer: G. I. Polyakov

Prominent member: I. Ye. Strakovski.

The committee has an NTS majority.

94. Council for the Unification of Provincial Committees, with headquarters in Hamburg, Mittelweg 113. This council was founded on the initiative of the Hamburg committee and gradually included the committees for Greater Hesse, Württemberg-Baden, and Hamburg.

President: O. Anisimov

Committee members: V. Nikitin and B. Koslovski

At present, efforts are being made to create a single representative body for the whole of Western Germany. Negotiations are being carried on with the Central Committee in Munich with the object of incorporating with this body (see Para. 95).

95. Democratic Organization of the British Zone of Germany, with main office in Hannover. This organization is allegedly closely connected to NTS. Further details are lacking.
96. Committee in the French Zone of Germany. This committee was originally conceived through the initiative of S. L. Voizekhovski at Ravensburg in 1948, but its organization was not permitted by Military Government at that time. It has since been approved. Fedorov was appointed president by the French authorities. He is also president of the committee for displaced persons in the French Zone, which is connected with the PDR service in Ebingen. Fedorov is an early emigrant and a journalist. He formerly lived in Poland, where he was closely acquainted with Voizekhovski. This committee is dominated by monarchist influences.
97. Charitable Committee of Orthodox Emigrants in Württemberg-Baden; main office at 3 Olgastrasse, Stuttgart; affiliations in Swabia-Gmünd, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, and Ulm. This organization has no significance.

President: Trepel-Koslovski (closely connected with NTS)

Sister-organization: Union of the Friends of Youth

98. Orthodox Charity Committee; main office at 113 Mittelweg, Hamburg 13.

Honorary President: Bishop Nafanail (South America)

Deputy Presidents: O. Anisimov, P. P. Kalinovski.

This is the only officially authorized committee of Russian emigrants in the British Zone. Already in its third year, it has done a great deal of social work and has also worked on emigration questions. It is closely connected with NTS.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 21 -

99. Alliance of Christian Professional Unions in the US Zone of Germany; main office at 14 Kirchenstrasse, Munich.

Honorary President: Dr. S. E. Yurev, 5 Werneckstrasse, Munich.

President: M. Shokalski.

Secretary: Prince Yeristov.

Co-workers: P. Skarzhinski, former General Borodin, Balla.

This Alliance is closely connected politically with VMS but is of purely charitable significance. The following 11 organizations, some of which count only a few members, are corporatively annexed to the Alliance:

Union of Russian Intellectuals
 Alliance of Russian Emigrant Authors and Journalists
 Union of Russian Emigrant Jurists, 63 Schwenthauserstrasse, Munich
 Alliance of Russian War Invalids of World War I, DP Camp, Schleissheim
 Union of Russian Students (ORS - Obiedinivye Russkikh Studentov), 19 Wagnillerstrasse, Munich; predominantly NTS.
 Professional Alliance of Expatriated Russian Engineers and Technicians
 Union of Russian Expatriated Doctors and Sanitary Personnel
 Educational Committee for Schools
 Alliance of Russian Artists
 Workers' Union of Emigrant Artisans
 St. George's Brotherhood for Moral and Social Aid to Students

100. The following organizations also exist:

Russki Sokol, a sport club

Russian Union of Christian Students (RSKhD), Paris. General Secretary: Prof. L. A. Sanders, closely connected with the YMCA. German director: Father A. Kisselov (emigrated to the USA).

Central Administration for the Amelioration of Russian Civilian Invalids in the US Zone of Germany, main office: DP Camp, Feldmoching.

Society of the Good Samaritans (Obshchestvo Milostivikh Samarityanin), main office at 5 Mauerkircherstrasse, Munich; social charitable organization.

Emigration Office of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, main office in Munich.

Union for the Fostering of Russian Church Music and Songs, main office at 20 Gänsbühl, Augsburg.

D. RECORDS AND EXHIBITIONS

101. Archives of the Fight for Freedom (Arkhiv Osvooboditelnoi Borby), main office at 113 Mittelweg, Hamburg. Collects material of all sorts concerning the history of the battle against Bolshevism, particularly of the Vlasov movement, as well as about the present-day illegal fight and the underground movement in the Soviet Union.

102. Museum and Archives of Russian Culture at the Russian Center, main office: 2450 Sutter Street, San Francisco 15, California, USA. Representative for Germany is Boris Domogatski, of Regensburg. Honorary presidents are Prof. W. N. Ipatov and Countess A. L. Tolstoi. This institute collects all valuable material, whether in the sphere of art, administration, history, politics, literature, memoirs, historical documents, books, newspapers, periodicals, or photographs. The museum will like to take over the work of former similar institutes such as, especially, the former Russian Historical Archives in Prague and the Turgenev Library in Paris, which were destroyed during the war. Recently, the museum has established a division whose main function is to collect all material on the forced extradition of Vlasov followers, DPs, etc., to the Soviet Union after the war.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 22 -

103. The Truth about the Soviet Union was planned as a traveling group of Russian emigrant artists. They were to form a collective, about which nothing further is known. The collection of funds was taken over by N. Chukhnov of the IRO Camp at Munich-Feldmoching. Apparently because of lack of funds, this project so far has not been carried out. The exhibition was originally intended for foreign countries.

E. RUSSIAN CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

104. Arkhivereiski Sinod Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy Zagranitssei (Archiepiscopal Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad). Its seat is in Munich, Bogenhausen, Donaustrasse 5. Heads: Metropolitan Anastasii, German Bishop of Berlin; Serafim Lade, of Germany; Metropolitan Teofil, of the USA. Publication: Tserkovnaya Zhizn, Munich. Mission publication: Pravoslavny Vestnik. Secretary of the Synod: Father Georg (Count Grabbe), Munich.
105. Russian Orthodox Church in West Europe, Paris 16, Rue Darue. Head: Metropolitan Vladimir. Under the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.
106. Russian Orthodox Church (under the Moscow Patriarch). Exarch for Western Europe: Metropolitan Serafim (Lukyanov), Paris.
107. Russian Orthodox Church in North America. Head: Metropolitan Platon, New York. Orthodox Theological Academy, New York.
108. Russian Evangelical Movement (Protestant), Paris.
109. Catholic Church, Eastern Rite. Seat: Rome (Vatican); Father Yevreinov, Father Abrikossov, Father Volkonski.

F. SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS ABROAD110. France:

Association of Friends of the Russian Nation, Paris. General Secretary: A. A. Gulevich.

Aid to Russian Emigrés, 42 Rue de la Tour, Paris 16. Chairmen: Mme P. Kartachov, Rue de Crimée, Paris 19. General Secretary: N. A. Pavlov, 44 Rue Duranton, Paris 15.

111. Argentina:

Dom Russkikh Belikh Immigrantov (House of White Russian Emigrants), Buenos Aires, Boedo #737; cultural-social.

112. United States:

Tolstoi Foundation, Inc., for Russian Welfare and Culture, 209 4th Ave., New York City. Permanent representative for Germany: Mrs. Tatyana A. Schaufuss, with headquarters in Munich, IRO at Pasing. Secretary: Mary Klingenberg, born Princess Krapotkin.

Board of Directors:

Honorary Chairman:	Honorable Herbert Hoover
President:	Aleksandra L. Tolstoi
Vice President:	Countess Sophia V. Panina
	Vadim S. Nekareff ✓
	Dr. Ethan T. Colton
	Serge S. Belosalsky ✓

Executive Committee:

<u>Secretaries:</u>	Mrs. Stella T. MacNaughten (corporate secretary)
	Mrs. Tatyana A. Schaufuss (executive secretary)
	Mr. Nicholas A. Cooke (assistant secretary).

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 23 -

Mr. Paul Anderson, Miss Helen A. Izvolaki, Mr. Alexander A. Pashkoff, Mr. Boris V. Sergeivski, Mrs. N. Shakhovskoy-Nabokov, Mr. Alexis R. Wiren, Mr. John Traphagen, Mr. Crawford Wheeler, Mr. Nicholas Wreden.

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- 113. Russian-American Union for Protection and Aid to Russians Outside of USSR, Inc., headquarters in New York City. President: Prince S. S. Beloselsky.
- 114. Anichkov Russian Welfare Committee, Inc. (Russki Blagotvoritelny Komitet, imeni V. P. i M. P. Anichkovykh), headquarters in New York.
- 115. United Russian Organizations for Self-Help in United States, headquarters in New York.
- 116. St. Vladimir Orthodox Theological Academy (Pravoslavnaya Vladimirskaia Bogoslovskaya Akademiya), headquarters in New York City. Rector: Father Prof. G. Florovski.

G. EMIGRANT PRESS117. Germany:

- Posev, Limburg/L., Dr. Vissarionov, G. S. Okolovich (NTS)
- Echo, Regensburg, B. Pryanichnikov (NTS)
- Put, Hamburg (NTS)
- Grani, Limburg/L. (NTS)
- Otdykh, Limburg/L. (NTS)
- Na Perelome, Munich, N. Chukhnov (SAF-Monarchist). No longer published.
- Obozreniye, Pfaffenhofen, organ of the Malmuks, no longer published.
- Bulletin ATsODNR, Munich (ATsODNR)
- Informatsionnyy Byulleten, Frankfurt/Main, organ of emigrants in Hesse, impartial.
- Gorn, Munich, N. Vetlugin (SAF). Only one number published; discontinued.
- Golos Rossii, Munich, N. Vetlugin (SAF)
- Izvestiya Vysshego Monarkhicheskogo Soveta, Munich. Publisher: Zlatoust, IRO Camp, Feldmoching. (NTS)

SECRET

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 24 -

Vestnik Russkoi Monarkhicheskoi Mysli, Regensburg (absolute monarchist).

Russki Grazhdanin, Arolsen/Waldeck (absolute monarchist)

Nasha Strana, Wolfsburg, I. Solonevich (monarchist)

Dvuglavy Orël, Munich, Zlatoust (free monarchist ideas)

Nabat, Munich (ALON)

Borba, Munich (SBONR)

Tserkovnaya Zhizn, Munich, organ of the Synod

Pravoslavny Vestnik, Munich, mission organ of the Synod

Svyataya Rus, Stuttgart, F. Kaklyugin (nationalist, religious)

Za Zheleznyy Zaveson, Munich, Kosarev

118. France:

Russkaya Mysl, Paris 9, 26 Rue Montholou (ROVS)

Za Svobodu Rossi, Paris 15, Boite Postale 3615, S. P. Melgunov.

Narodnaya Pravda, Paris 15, 253 Rue Lecourbe, Roman Goule (democratic, RND)

Russkiye Novosti, Paris (liberal, democratic)

Tribuna, Paris, N. W. Meier

Russki Put, Paris, E. A. Yefimovski (monarchist)

Obsor, Paris, Rudinski (monarchist)

Znaniya, Paris, organ of the Russian nationalist center

Novosti Dnya, Paris (pro-Soviet), publication discontinued

Sovetski Patriot, Paris (pro-Soviet), publication discontinued

119. Belgium:

Chasovoi, Brussels, Orekhov (ROVS)

Volny Trud, Brussels, organ of Christian Trade Union

120. Austria:

Na Rubezhe, Camp Kellerberg (monarchist)

Informatsionny Byulleten, Salzburg (democratic)

Ogni, Salzburg (NTS)

121. England:

Rossyanin, London (ROVS)

122. United States:

Novoye Russkoye Slovo, 243 West 56th Street, New York City. Non-partisan and no specific political principles, democratic.

Rossiia, New York City, E. Ryabakov (monarchist)

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 25 -

Russki Klich, Los Angeles, V. A. Satrazinski (non-partisan)
Russkaya Zhizn, San Francisco, 2458 Sutter Street (impartial)
Za Svobodu, New York City, A. F. Kerenski (socialist)
Sotsialisticheski Vestnik (The Socialist Courier), 7 East 15th Street,
 Room 401, New York 3, New York (socialist)
Pravoslavnyaya Russ (?) (ecclesiastical-religious)
Novoselo, New York City (formerly Paris) (non-partisan)
Novy Zhurnal, New York City, literature and art

123. Argentina:

Vesti (?)
Vekhi, Buenos Aires, E. I. Namukov (NTS)
Vestnik, Buenos Aires, Shapkin (nationalist, fascist)
Russki v Argentine, Buenos Aires, circulation 8,000 (Young Russian)
Nasha Strana, Buenos Aires, I. S. Solonovich (nationalist, monarchist)
Nash Golos, Buenos Aires, T. Lashtyuk (pro-Soviet)

124. China:

Kitaisko-Russkaya Gazeta, Shanghai, no longer published.
Sarya, Shanghai, V. Arnoldov, no longer published (democratic).

H. CONCLUSION

125. After World War I, the main centers of emigration were located in Paris, Berlin, Prague, and the Balkans, and Paris was unquestionably considered the "capital" of Russian emigration. On the other hand, the less heavily settled centers in Harbin and Shanghai led their own lives and maintained only slight contact with Paris. Emigration to Africa and America was very insignificant at that time.
126. World War II brought about a complete change, in that a large part of the European center no longer was in Soviet hands. Since the invasion of Manchuria by the Soviets and the Communist war in China, the centers in Harbin and Shanghai must be regarded as having been wiped out. Paris, after the German occupation, lost its former role as "capital" of the emigration; while it is still the headquarters of several old organizations, it has no ties with the new emigration, which is very weakly represented there. During and after the war, the new emigration gathered in Germany, where the majority of the organizations originated. To Munich, especially, fell the former role of Paris.
127. The mass migration to overseas countries, which began later and has not yet ended, is responsible for further changes. At present, the organizations are not keeping pace with the movement of the masses and a great number of the old organizations can be expected not to emerge again in their old form. Organizations such as SAF will hardly be able to survive overseas in their previous form; nor are they likely to remain in Germany, since they soon will not be able to count on the presence of a significant mass there. New York already is taking over the role of Paris. Another important center has arisen in

SECRET

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- 26 -

Argentina, and Morocco and Australia are gaining in importance. There are definite signs that from the ranks of the so-called "third emigration" leaders can be expected to emerge very soon.

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Comment: As far as possible, names of emigrants in this section are given in the spelling adopted in the USA by the individuals concerned rather than in the correctly transliterated form. For the correct transliteration,

change w to v
 " ff to v
 " -sky to ski
 " -zeff to tsev
 " ou to u
 " x to ks
 " ie to e

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